/387 cont./

372 342 openings in the top prevented it from escaping easily. The entire structure was well insulated, for it was meant to offer special protection against the rigors of the climate. Since it was built in the damp western part where dry firewood was not available in large quantities, the Indians managed by constantly carrying green wood into the hut and piling it up. In a few days it was dry and only then was used for burning. Even a supply of tussock grass [573] (Poa flabellata) was kept on hand, for this litter for the bed had to be renewed at least every two weeks.

251 The men supplied the necessary food for their families on communal hunting expeditions which were usually so successful that a good share of the booty could be stored away for a few days. This helped in periods when the hunt was seriously hindered by continuous stormy weather. They were anxiously concerned about having an abundant supply of meat always on hand, if not perhaps a whale /388/ lying on the shore. Otherwise the gathering of many people in the same place in a securely built hut would not only be pointless, but even dangerous. Inevitably the inhabitants frightened the game farther and farther away from the dwelling, which made hunting increasingly difficult. Then only ample stores kept off the threatening specter of hunger.

342 362 221 A hut for several families was occupied only in winter. Wanderlust was too strong to detain a family in one spot any length of time for other reasons. The people who built a communal hut would perhaps come back to it for a second winter, but not after that, for the game supply had been exhausted over a wide area, and they themselves were kept away by the boredom of sitting still. The arrangement described here might be referred to as the "winter hut." Near it a sort of winter supply was piled up. The very safe shelter provided somewhat comfortable living [577] conditions, and during the long periods of inactivity together, favorite myths and legends were repeated, or the people told each other stories of their own experiences and Hámma stories. Communal huts were not built in the east, and the reason is simple: weather and hunting conditions were much more favorable there.

342 573 After a few families have settled in the so-called multiple-family hut, they not infrequently erect another building directly beside it for the half-grown children, and this is appropriately known as the "children's hut." It resembles the first hut in shape

/390 cont./

361 many huts beside a dead sea monster create the illusion of a village. Since there is plenty of meat and fat, a number of families can settle down together without hindrance. If during this time someone must obtain some vital necessity, he departs for a few days, but leaves his hut standing and occupies it again upon his return. There is no food supply more abundant and convenient than a stranded whale. At the same time the gathering of many
[571] families satisfies the need for sociability, and the people can give themselves up to it all the more undisturbed the longer they are free from worry about the necessities of life. Naturally the large number of people and their freedom from the food quest suggest stimulating diversion, and this is offered principally by the ciexaus and the accompanying kina. In comparison with these protracted events, fewer families gather together for funeral rites, and they remain in one place a much shorter time, often only a day or two.

No matter what brings families together, they always preserve their independence. Groups of relatives and friends erect their huts closer together, but there is always a space of a few steps between them. In spite of intimacy with neighbors, everyone strives for at least a small space between dwellings. The /391/ distribution of huts in such a camp is very irregular, because each individual makes his arrangements for his own greatest convenience. He first selects for his dwelling a dry spot and the protection of a rock or a group of trees. Drinking water must be not too far away. Whoever is first to appear on the scene has a greater freedom of selection, and the stragglers are content to take the places that have been left vacant. No one has a right and would not presume to exercise any kind of influence on the distribution of the huts. A person who wishes to leave the settlement can depart or return unhindered, just as he likes. On such an occasion two or at most three families may share a single hut if they are close to each other, such as brothers and sisters or true friends, but such exceptions are rare. In that case they build the ordinary dome-shaped family-hut in larger proportions, not the so-called winter hut (p. 35).

572 Everyone, of course, is completely free to dispose of his
517 time as he sees fit. The greater part of the day is spent in talk and conversation. During the long evenings they like to recite the old legends and tell of their own experiences. One often sees the men

/391 cont./

572 517 busy making implements, such as the large, bone harpoon points which take a long time. Women and girls devote themselves to their trinkets or weave baskets. Primarily everyone passes the time in uninhibited, protracted inactivity, unless a major enterprise is under way, which requires a definite program for the day.

364 An aggregation of many people for weeks at a time is unavoidably accompanied by considerable uncleanliness around them. In general the Yamana do not have any particular feeling for cleanliness, and in this respect they are more backward than the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 223). The consequences are not very noticeable when a single family stops somewhere for a day and then travels on, but they are different in an encampment of many people. Walking back and forth makes the earth muddy and boggy. Refuse from meals decays and contaminates the surroundings. The air inside the huts becomes increasingly musty and oppressive. True, the cleansing and purifying rain often intercedes, but it does not improve matters much. Giving way before the heaped-up refuse, individual families temporarily depart and relinquish the dwelling and its environs to the purifying influence of natural forces.

We can now understand the brief descriptions by a few European travelers depicting an encampment of many Indians near a stranded whale, the total picture of which evoked unpleasant, even disgusting impressions (49). The way they eat and their

49. In earlier travel accounts there are, unfortunately, no detailed reports about the encampments of many families. This is because there were few occasions for them, and the same is true at the present time.

unkempt appearance are in themselves repulsive. /392/ Over all this hang the thick, heavy fumes of blubber. A person not accustomed to it from childhood is bound to become nauseated (50) if

50. One should recall the work centers of whale fishermen in several places along the Chilean and Argentine coast, which contaminate the air far and wide with unpleasant odors.

X881 867 /842 cont./ Naturally, the person who does this only knows them well, but can also tell them in a lively way.

a well-meaning instructor earnestly recommended to each of them at the time of their candidacy, and finally once again to search their consciences thoroughly on the subject of what constitutes a "good and useful Yamana." Our Fuegians have a natural tendency X881 toward speculative and searching meditation about their own egos. 517 /843/ In this respect they far surpass the neighboring Selk'nam. This tendency is greatly fostered by the long silences in the Great Hut, during which everyone is left to himself. Even if the many games and stories, which make allowance for every social need, were omitted, our Indians would gladly come to this affair solely for the satisfaction they find in deep meditation during the Čiéxaus.

X881 The following account of the adult program should be evaluated in the light of these particular considerations. It also clearly shows the springs tapped by every Yamana so that he will not become spiritually impoverished and lose his strong inner support. The Yamana do not, of course, put all of these things into words. It is only from close and prolonged observation of their conduct that I have recognized the various details and the basic characteristics of their nature.

At the present time the procedure of the initiation varies and changes from day to day, just as it did formerly. Nevertheless it does not seem superfluous to present exactly, on the basis of at least one such affair, the events and occurrences of each day. A brief reference to the procedure of the Čiéxaus celebration in March, 1922, will follow this long discussion.

I. The Adult Assembly

Following the example of the man who has been chosen as leader of the initiation, the individual families also move to the site agreed upon. Each family builds its own hut or two families will agree on a common hut. Meanwhile many hands toil at building and furnishing the Great Hut. Each adult readies his forehead decoration and his dance staff, both of which must always

/1460 cont./

193 The suffix added to the genitive, however, also occurs as objective case. The adjective changes in value by its mere position: if it precedes, it is /1461/ attributive; if it follows, it is predicative. The pronoun has a uniform root, but in form it differentiates verbal and personal, possessive and subjective. The diversity of all pronouns is surprisingly great, especially because designations of place are expressed in horizontal and vertical relationships and because the qualification "toward" as a prefix and "away from" as a suffix are joined with a single word (363).

> 363. It would lead too far afield to give examples of this; a good selection of them may be found in Hestermann (b), Bridges (k):235, and even more in Hyades (q):280.

The verb can be constructed from a nominal basis by numerous suffixes. Verbs can also be compounded and stand as coordinates. There are four conjugations according to the four different final vowels. The place variation of the noun as described above also extends in every respect to the entire verb. There are at least six different forms of verbal negation. As Hestermann declares, "the inflections briefly alluded to here, along with those affecting the noun, form a veritably inexhaustible phenomenon distinguished by consummate brevity of form as well as sensitive elegance. Yamana is a melodious type of Indian language, terse, rich, precise, and full of meaning." If, in this study, I 197 have several times mentioned dialect differences (p. 200 /untranslated/), I certainly did not mean substantial deviations between one group and another, but merely slight differences in words and appellations for the same thing, as well as in some sounds. These insignificant local peculiarities obviously do not constitute dialects in the strict sense of the word.

c. Artistic Sense

517 All the thoughts and endeavors of our water nomads on Cape Horn are directed toward the inescapable food quest; it almost completely absorbs the individual. Whatever remains of leisure

/1461 cont./

•517 time and unspent energy is devoted to rest or modest social demands. The Yamana do have a feeling for beauty and an understanding of proportion, but the conditions of life are not conducive to a rich development of these tendencies. The Yamana does not receive much stimulation for aesthetic enjoyment or artistic activity from his environment, which is clothed in dull colors and presents wildly chaotic forms. A desire for them emerges now and then from his innermost nature, however, and actually expresses itself within modest limits in one way or another.

1. Sense of Beauty

832 On some occasions our Fuegians indisputably demonstrate their well-developed sense for physical beauty. They prefer a slim, mobile, well proportioned, moderately tall figure, /1462/ full of healthy energy. Such a figure is particularly impressive to youthful representatives of the opposite sex, who quite openly speak about it in company. Marriageable boys and girls are sometimes considerably influenced and affected by the physical form of the person of their choice (p.399). /Fig. 101 appears here./

[856] Parents and close relatives are anxious that a baby develop a beautiful figure from its earliest years. This is the chief purpose of a kind of light massage (p.525), although this alone does not always guarantee success. It is said that a particularly attractive and graceful baby usually changes to the opposite and becomes ugly, whereas often a less beautiful child becomes very well formed after a few years. In the eyes of our Fuegians body hair

302 is unpleasant; hence they pluck out underarm and pubic hair, as well as beard hair (p.82). For this purpose they like to use two mussel shells that fit together like a pair of pincers. Some people take great pains with the hair, oiling it with blubber and combing it several times a day (p.85). Most of them have it shortened in due time, so that it hangs about shoulder-level (p.91); it is not gathered into braids. When, in exceptional cases, some men have their head hair cut off before a fight, it is because they wish to prevent their opponents from grabbing their hair and pulling them

832 by it. A European also finds the same satisfaction in the figures

/1462 cont./

832 that are regarded as beautiful among the Yamana; Spegazzini (a):165 refers to this specifically. The various types of ornaments are supposed to increase the allure of physical beauty. The impulse for this sort of thing /1463/ varies according to the person, his age and sex, but coincides almost exactly with what one observes in Europe under the same circumstances.

[285 415]

Fig. 101. A Well-made Little Basket.

• 517 In making implements and utensils, weapons and ornaments, everyone tries to achieve a certain degree of symmetry, solely because it is agreeable to his eye and feelings. There are even special designations for persons who make certain things perfectly and according to the rules of good workmanship. Some of these expressions are based merely on considerations of usefulness. They use the word wĭlĭpĭtas, "clever, expert, careful in cutting up a

/1463 cont./

•517 whale," /cited in English/, according to SD:630, or wálina for a man who makes a good canoe. People who make a small basket or an ornament with particular care are known far and wide, and the accurate construction of such things is talked about by others because it gives them satisfaction and true enjoyment. One often hears expressions like the following: "What a pretty thing! -- How good-looking that is! -- The workmanship is very accurate and shapely!..." Everyone praises the effort made by an artisan. When they see a perfect specimen, old people encourage the young ones to imitate it. Any kind of praise is gratifying to the Yamana, and he makes an effort to obtain it. Beyond that, however, he also finds particular pleasure in the qualities of the beautiful object. A European, if he wants to be fair in his judgment, must take into consideration the difficulties that hamper the Yamana in the making and fashioning of his implements. For example, he does not have the use of metal tools and measuring instruments, but is dependent solely on his hardened, not very limber fingers and upon the measurements of his eye. For this reason, obviously, the various rows in a little basket (Fig. 101) or an ornament and the lines in a painting are never absolutely perfect. The indolence and the carelessness of persons who do not want to take pains and trouble are, of course, also reasons for many an inadequate piece of work.

531 The Yamana enhance the beauty of certain objects and their
302 own bodies by means of painting. They use the well-known ma-
302 terials (p. 90) for the three colors that are the only ones applied: lái = red, scarlet; yéku = light, luminous, white; finally, lémbi = black. The pigments are either rubbed to a dry powder or first mixed with water or blubber in a large Mytilus shell (Fig. 102) to form a thick paste and then applied with the finger or with a painting stick (pp. 95 , 112 , 190). Designations for other tones of color are not altogether lacking, but are seldom used. For instance, one says lahíma, "gray," only for human hair and for fur, whereas the word pówaiku is used for the gray, faded, and pale color of any other object. Light red or a reddish yellow is designated by píalli. There is no particular significance attached to any of these colors (p. 94) (364), although one or

364. Martin: 188 and Spegazzini (a):170

/1474/ 2. Amusements

517 524 The way the children play when several families camp in the same spot for a few days has been described (p.576). The way they tease each other in true childish fashion is shown, for example, by the use of Adenocystis alga (Fig. 81, p.595) with which wily boys surprise unsuspecting girls. Smaller as well as larger children have a great deal of fun with the swing (p.585); concerning even middle-aged persons, Bridges maintains that "the swing also they are very fond of" /cited in English/ (ViA: XII, 50,1861). The adults, too, take advantage of being together for mutual diversion and general entertainment (372).

372. Bridges (k):240 says in a very general way: "Their principal amusements are wrestling, playing with a ball, and practicing with spears, arrows, slings, and rumes" /translated from Spanish/. Bridges (z):209, Cunes (g):53, Spegazzini (a):170, Whaits in MM:X, 12,1876, and others speak of dances. These reports and the few expressions in ED are, unfortunately, incomplete. Bridges (z):209 maintained that "most of their amusements are very childish" /cited in English/; these words alone show plainly how little he understood the characteristics of those Indians.

526 The popular ball-game does not require special preparation. Anyone may call the people out of the huts to a smooth, grassy area where they form a large circle. The ball, hĕlaka, the size of a fist, is made of the web of the albatross, first blown up to dry, stuffed with down feathers, and finally sewn up. It is tossed up perpendicularly with the flat palm of the hand; when it returns, another player must again toss it into the air and make sure that it ascends as vertically as possible. Otherwise, it usually falls to the ground outside the circle of players, which is supposed to be avoided. Lawrence, along with Bridges (l):16, declares: "The Indians are very fond of playing at ball" /cited in English/ (MM: VI,138,1872), which they call hĕlaka ǵaka. This is almost the

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 2215 Yahgan 2315

RECREATION AND INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES

519 A great deal of Yahgan recreation was incidental to the initiation and other rites and through the feasting and social activities that accompanied set events such as marriages, or chance meetings of families at camps, or larger gatherings of longer duration occasioned by treasure trove in the shape of stranded whale. In connection with some of even the more solemn rites there were intervals of free play releasing tensions developed during the more serious phases of the rites.

496 Narcotics were totally lacking. No alcoholic or other intoxicating
498 beverages were made or used by the Yahgan before their contact with the Whites. Nor was tobacco grown or in any form used.

531 Art.—There was no form of sculpture or of carving in wood. The only designs, if they can be called such, were the lines, dots, and circles used in face and body painting and in the ornamentation of lodges and paraphernalia in connection with the major rites (fig. 14). There was a certain crude artistry in bodily decorations and in the personal adornments referred to elsewhere in the present paper.

All in all, there are few if any peoples in the world that possessed a more rudimentary esthetic development than the Yahgan and their neighbors, the Alacaluf and Ona.

526 Games and sports.—There was no gambling, no games with elaborate rules, no team games unless group wrestling could be called such, and no competitive games except wrestling.

524 Boys practiced with the spear, bow and arrow, and sling, and at
857 times throwing, but this was as much vocational as recreative activity. There were certain quite simple children's play activities, such as swinging, rolling down hillsides, cutscissors hopping on one foot, and group play such as tomahiro, in which boys and girls crouched in a line one behind the other, sang together a melody in which the meaningless word "tomahiro" was repeated, and slowly danced rocking back and forth in imitation of a canoe making its way forward through the waves. Songs sung on one long meaningless word were
[518] common accompaniments of children's group play.

[497] All the women could swim; the men could not. Recreative swimming was rarely indulged in.

524 Adults' games, in some of which the children could participate, were equally simple. Such were: blindman's buff, hopping and singing at the same time, throwing small burning sticks in the air, standing in a circle through which "it" in the middle tried to break. The ball
526 game was popular: A ball made of seal gut stuffed with feathers or grass was kept in the air by the players with strokes from the palm of the hand. Men and women might play the ball game together.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

Among the Yahgan, marriage by capture seems to have been less common than among the Ona. A woman given in marriage by her father against her will soon abandoned the undesired husband. In fact the Yahgan showed a tendency to change husbands and wives not infrequently, which we may term progressive polygamy. According to Rev. Thomas Bridges (1884, p. 206) a man might have from one to four wives at a time, but the number was not fixed by custom.

Infidelity resulted in no fixed form of punishment, but both the offending man and woman were apt to be beaten. Shortly before our arrival a Yahgan man had disappeared. It was rumored that his wife, enraged at his amours, had beaten him with a paddle and accidentally killed him.

Children

In the old days, to judge by the number of deserted orphans set down in the mission records, the Yahgan did not greatly devote themselves to the care of the children. Abortion seems to have been a common practice, and infanticide we judge was not rare. To reach the facts is somewhat difficult because early explorers did not have sufficient knowledge to describe such practices, and the mission contact soon put an end to them or drove them under cover.

Soon after birth had taken place the Yahgan mother bathed in the sea and the new-born child was also immersed in order to toughen it. This was a rather terrible ordeal for an infant, for the sea temperatures of winter and summer range from 40° to 50° Fahrenheit, while the air at best could be described as no warmer than temperate. We have no figures to show what mortality this custom entailed, yet cannot but believe that soon after birth all but the most vigorous and robust infants were thus ruthlessly eliminated.

After delivery, not only the mother but the father as well was expected to rest for a week or more. In this custom we see incipient couvade.

Games and Amusements

The Yahgan to pass the time indulged in various simple games and in singing and dancing. Of necessity the young boys devoted much care and time to practice with spear, bow and arrow, sling, and stones; but while these exercises often assumed the form of

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

517 sport, the practical aspect of gaining a livelihood and a desire to imitate the grown men must have been the underlying motive.
526 Wrestling was not uncommon, and was an extremely rough sport,
857 so much so indeed that death sometimes ensued. Rev. Thomas Bridges (1884, p. 179) recognizes two types of wrestling: one between individuals known as *kahleka*, another between two groups known as *ungiana*.

524 Of the simpler amusements the children had several of the "follow-
851 my-leader" type, they used a swing, they had a simple ball-game like the Ona, and they painted themselves in the style of their elders and inserted short sticks in their lips, nostrils, and eyelids. Games of these kinds have been studied by Koppers (1924).

533 Of Yahgan songs Mr. Bridges (op. cit., p. 177) recognizes several varieties. The first group, called *loima*, are songs of blood revenge; another type, called *telania*, are songs of mourning; the *arua* songs are peculiar to the medicine-men; finally there are songs called *jacos* which are sung by everybody. This last class are usually mythological in subject matter. The same authority says that the
535 dances are called *uona*. People may dance alone, in couples, or in groups, and in a circle holding hands or in line.

526 The Yahgan had no foot-racing or water sports of any kind.

Feuds

578 In general the Yahgan were not an amicable people, according
628 to most accounts. When two groups camped together trouble usually arose, and the weaker group moved away. This as well as the food quest accounts for their frequent changes of residence. Sometimes a fight might start between two individuals and then all their friends and relatives joined, probably in an endeavor to stop the encounter but sometimes to aid their man. Clubs, paddles, spears, slings, and stones were the weapons used. General mêlées, however, can not have been common, for Rev. Thomas Bridges sponsors the statement[1] that in the thirteen years between 1871 and 1884 only twenty-two murders had taken place. I have no figures for the Ona, but killings must have been much more frequent among them than among the Yahgan.

628 The causes of quarrels among the Yahgan were such as are found among all primitive tribes, namely, insult, theft, adultery, and the

[1] In *South American Missionary Magazine*, London, 1884, p. 224.